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ABSTRACT

It is well-established that women do the vast majority of household labor. West and Zimmerman's concept of "doing gender" suggests that sex inequity persists because housework enables women to demonstrate their gendered identities to others. However, changes in gendered norms for housework may be underway because recent studies indicate that women are reducing their amount of household labor and some are complaining about the burdens. Certain types of conflicts may be an indicator of women's growing sense of entitlement and a harbinger of change. This study explored conflicts over the household division of labor in regard to the "doing" of gender. A national sample of women (N=60) and men (N=57) responded to a survey requesting who did the majority of "female" household tasks; why those persons did housecleaning; their overall satisfaction with the division of labor; and types of conflicts experienced over the household division of labor. Demographic data were also collected. Results indicated that 80% of the women did the majority of the household tasks. However, reasons for housecleaning were as likely to be practical or preferential as gendered. Overall, conflicts were best predicted by dissatisfaction among young adults (20-39 years). Though gendered norms about household labor appear to be ambivalent among young adults, all women continue to perform such tasks in a gendered manner. (Contains 35 references and 4 tables.) (ABL)

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"Doing Gender" and Conflicts over the Household Division of Labor* **

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Abstract

It is well-established that women do the vast majority of household labor. West and Zimmerman's concept of "doing gender" suggests that sex inequity persists because housework enables women to demonstrate their gendered identities to others. However, changes in gendered norms for housework may be underway because recent studies indicate that women are reducing their amount of household labor and some are complaining about the burdens. Certain types of conflicts may be an indicator of women's growing sense of entitlement and a harbinger of change. The present study explored conflicts over the household division of labor in regard to the "doing" of gender. A national, random sample of 117 women and men responded to a survey about: who did the majority of "female" household tasks, why those persons did housecleaning, their overall satisfaction with the division of labor, and the types of conflicts experienced over the household division of labor. Demographic data was also collected. Results indicated that 80% of women did the majority of household tasks. However, reasons for housecleaning were as likely to be practical or preferential as gendered. Overall, conflicts were best predicted by dissatisfaction, a younger age, and a higher than average household income. Equity conflicts (feeling burdened or a lack of fairness) were linked to dissatisfaction among young adults (20-39 years). Though gendered norms about household labor appear to be ambivalent among young adults, all women continue to perform such tasks in a gendered manner. Possible explanations were examined.

"Doing Gender" and Conflicts over the Household Division of Labor

It is well-established that women perform the vast majority of the daily, repetitive, and necessary household tasks (Ferree, 1990; Hochschild, 1989; Robinson, 1988; Suitor, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Such tasks include: cooking, laundry, cleaning house, doing dishes, and caring for small children. Both sexes engage in shopping and caring for older children (Berk, 1985; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Hiller & Philliber, 1986; Kamo, 1988). Though there is some variation among studies, women typically do two to three times more housework than men (Berk, 1985; Hochschild, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Warner, 1986). However, researchers are surprised by the high levels of satisfaction reported by women and men around the issue of the household division of labor (Ferree, 1990; Berk, 1985; Komter, 1989).

A number of models have been proposed to explain why women continue to do the majority of household tasks even though most are also employed in the paid labor force. Becker's (1981) "new home economics" model posits that the family unit determines whose labor is worth more in the market and then assigns unpaid household duties to the member who is less marketable. In essence, the reason is practical and economical. Kamo (1988) suggests that power (consisting of women's employment, resources, and partners' sex-role orientations) is the basic issue. The more power wives have, the less housework they perform. However, empirical research appears to contradict both models in that womens' employment does not appear to be related to their husbands' household labor in relation to the hours women work, women's earnings, or time availability (Atkinson & Boles, 1984; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale, 1987; Ferree, 1988). For instance, Atkinson and Boles found that women who earn more money than their husbands (and presumably have greater economic power and status) attempt to salve their

husbands' egos and interact with their husbands in more sexual ways. Such households also exhibit a very traditional division of labor.

A more compelling model is associated with the concept of gender. The notion of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) posits that to be judged a competent member of a gender class, one must engage in interactions that will be perceived as culturally acceptable expressions of our masculine or feminine "nature". The performance of particular household tasks is an opportunity to fulfill culturally "appropriate" expectations and in doing so, sustain individual gender identities. Because housework is viewed as "women's work", it provides women with an opportunity to demonstrate love, subordination and femininity.

Berk (1985) noted that gender, more than any other variable, accounted for the amount of women's childcare and housework. Also, when housework must be done and the "wife" is not available, other women are often hired, or daughters are pressured to assume the tasks. Further, women with paid jobs often reduce their housework and settle for a lower set of standards for cleanliness rather than recruit their husbands to perform the necessary household tasks. The gender model suggests that a woman who wants to be judged a socially competent female will seek out and readily engage in housework regardless of the inequities by sex. In addition, women and men may engage in gendered behavior in order to protect their partners from the social disapproval associated with "inappropriate" task performance.

However, while "doing gender" may explain why many women and men maintain an unequal distribution of household labor, the norms for gendered behavior may be shifting. A change appears to be underway in the gendered meaning of housework--in terms of why certain persons engage in it, and in the conflicts that develop over the division of labor.

For instance, Robinson (1988) reports that from 1975 to 1985 a significant shift in who does certain household tasks began to occur. Men began taking on more household chores (cooking and cleaning) and spending somewhat more time doing them (up to four hours per week) while women reduced the amount of time they spent on household tasks (from 24 in 1965 to 16 hours per week in 1985). Pleck (1985) and Coverman and Sheley (1986) also report that wives are reducing their total amount of housework. Some of the reductions, but not all, can be traced to increases in women's paid labor.

Further, studies find that 25-30% of wives complain about the inequity in the division of household labor or feel it is unfair (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Rosen, 1987; Yogev, 1981). In the past, household conflicts were viewed as a failure of adjustment. But Ferree (1990) points out that conflict may be a positive sign. Benin and Agostinelli (1988) claim that arguments over the household division of labor are an important but understudied area. Conflict may be an indicator of women's sense of entitlement to an equitable division of labor as well as a sign of men's resistance or willingness to change.

This paper explores the issue of conflicts over the household division of labor in relation to the "doing" of gender since conflict may be an important indicator of women's and men's sensitivity to inequity and a harbinger of change. The study reported below explores perceptions of conflict (over the household division of labor) in two-person (or more) households. The issue of conflict and sex will be examined in relation to the notion of "doing gender" by examining the rationales behind the activity of housecleaning. In addition, potential precursors of conflict such as: satisfaction with the division of labor, age, family stage, and economic power will be tested.

Scholarship on the household division of labor indicates that conflict can be predicted from satisfaction with the household division of labor. That is, Benin and Agostinelli (1988) found that both women and men perceived more conflicts when they were dissatisfied with the division of household chores. Conflict has also been linked to age, income, and job status. Suitor (1991) claims that a strong and consistent relationship has been found between age and family conflict (not necessarily conflict over the division of labor, however) for over a decade. Her research also found that age was a strong predictor of conflict; younger couples were significantly more inclined than others to engage in verbal aggression.

Family stage may help to explain why family conflict varies by age since it is related to satisfaction with the division of household labor. That is, Cowan, Cowan, Heming, Garrett, Coysh, Curtis-Boles, and Boles (1985) as well as White, Booth, and Edwards (1986) found that couples' satisfaction with household labor was higher in the preparental years than during the early years of childrearing. Schafer and Keith (1981) noted that couples in the postparental years felt that tasks were more equitably divided than during the child-intensive phases of the family cycle. Thus, the preschool stage of the family life cycle (which for most couples occurs in young adulthood) may mark the zenith of conflicts and the nadir of satisfaction with the household division of labor. However, Suitor (1991) found an important sex difference in levels of satisfaction. Wives' satisfaction with the household division of labor was lowest during the childrearing years and highest before and after children. On the other hand, husbands' satisfaction was stable across the family life cycle.

The sex difference may be due to gender practices at certain points in the life cycle. That is, researchers have noted a sex difference in the

division of household labor which shifts over the course of the family life cycle. For instance, the tasks undertaken by spouses are more similar during the preparental and postparental years but dissimilar during the early childrearing period (Rexroat & Shehan, 1987; White, Booth & Edwards, 1986; and Yogev, 1981).

Economic factors are also an important part of the equation. Benin and Agostinelli hypothesized that in economic terms, a woman could be dissatisfied but not argue about the division of labor if her spouse contributed more income or job status to the family. But Coleman's (1988) research indicates that income and class status may interact with the household division of labor. That is, husbands in lower-class families may participate in traditional female tasks out of necessity; the couple may disagree about who should do which household tasks but the woman's income is necessary and her time at home is limited. On the other hand, higher-class couples may have a larger earnings gap but a more egalitarian ideology so that the husband (who earns significantly more money) may take on responsibility or hire others to perform certain choice household tasks. But as Coleman (1988) concludes, "the greater a woman's net economic power, the more likely her husband will be involved in housework and childcare...the more likely her husband will see himself as 'responsible' for tasks...the more equitable the division of the nice versus the nasty jobs between husband and wife" (p. 141).

In view of the complex relationships noted above, the following questions were examined in the present exploratory study: 1) To what degree do rationales for housecleaning vary by sex? 2) Whether the reasons for conflict are related to the reasons for housecleaning. 3) Whether conflicts over the household division of labor can be predicted by: Satisfaction, age, family stage, and economic factors. 4) If conflict differs by sex.

Methods

The study respondents were obtained by mailing a two-page survey to a national sample of 500 households in the winter of 1991. Names and addresses were supplied by Survey Sampling Inc. of Connecticut who randomly selected a balanced sample from phone directories and automobile registration lists from across the country. A total of 140 people (28%) returned the surveys and, of these, 117 were useable. Of the 117, 60 (51%) were women and 57 (50%) were men; 88% were caucasians. Eighty-five percent were married, and nearly half (44%) had children living at home. Three-fourths of the men and nearly half of the women worked more than 36 hours per week for pay. The average household income was between $30-49,999 per year. Thirty-one percent had a high school education, 33% had some college, and 20% had a college education. The mean age for women was 47.6 years (ranging from 23-80) and for men 47.5 (ranging from 23-87 years). The age distribution was normal.

Each household was sent a cover letter explaining the need to learn more about the household division of labor and a two page survey which requested data on: who most often performed the six most time-consuming tasks, the reasons why those who performed the housecleaning did so, the level of satisfaction with the division of household tasks, and possible reasons for conflicts over household tasks. In addition, data were collected on: Yearly household income, personal income, current job title, hours worked for pay each week, race, religion, education, marital status, and a list of all household members by age and sex.

The survey was pre-tested on a group of 60 undergraduate students in two different Gender Roles classes at a midwestern state university as well as five faculty members in the Department of Human Development at the same

school. The pilot study entailed an open-ended response category for conflicts. The conflicts identified during the pilot study tended to be either of a practical nature (lack of time; tasks remain undone) or were concerned with issues of equity (others not doing their fair share; person who does most of the tasks feels burdened). This distinction is consistent with positions taken in the social-psychological literature (Ferree, 1987). As a result, the question on conflict that was used in the actual study presented respondents with the four options above as well as an "other" category. In this study, conflicts that referred to "lack of time" or "tasks [that] remain undone" were classified as practical preferences and ranked at a lower level than conflicts over equity i.e., one's "fair share" or "feels burdened".

When conflict was tested with parametric measures, responses were arranged along an eight point continuum ranging from no conflicts to single, practical reasons and their various combinations at the low end of the scale, to a merging of both practical and equity issues in the middle, and finally to a combination of equity issues at the high end of the scale. When conflicts were analyzed categorically, the reasons for conflict were broken down into four categories: No conflicts reported, practical conflicts (no time or tasks not done), equity conflicts (unfair or burdened), and a mixture of both practical and equity conflicts.

In order to determine whether this sample was consistent with the trends in the literature in regard to the performance of household tasks, an examination of the six most time consuming traditional female tasks was first undertaken. Study respondents were asked to indicate who most often engaged in six household tasks that Walker and Woods (1976) indicated were the most time consuming (entailing 77% of housework time): meal preparation, housecleaning, laundry, child or parent care, cleaning up after meals, and

food shopping. Such tasks are also considered typical female tasks. Respondents were asked to check columns under: the self, partner, son, daughter, other or not applicable. Data for each individual task was then summed to determine which person(s), if any, most often performed the tasks.

The list of reasons for why certain household members engaged in housecleaning consisted of the practical, gendered, and preferential and other options: The practical were categorized by: She/he has more time, his/her job is less demanding; the gendered were: It is her/his sex role, it is consistent with male/female nature; and the preferential were: She/he enjoys or prefers it; other was a collection of unique reasons or combinations of the above rationales. The options were modeled on questionnaire categories designed by Huber and Spitze (1983) to measure: time availability, relative power, sex-role attitudes, and taste for housework.

The task of housecleaning was chosen over other possible activities because Hood (1983) found that women typically performed this least attractive tasks while men "Chose child care, cooking and shopping over housecleaning" (p. 179). Further, Robinson's data indicated that housecleaning was consistently identified as one of the least attractive tasks.

A question on how satisfied respondents were with the division of household tasks offered options ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied. The selection of very satisfied corresponded to the number one whereas very dissatisfied was rated a seven. Satisfied (three) and unsatisfied (five) were options found between the two extremes. For categorical tests, satisfaction was collapsed into either satisfied or dissatisfied.

Family stage was measured by recording the age of the youngest child in the family. Responses were then chronologically arranged from the youngest to the oldest age of the child. Those without children in the home were

coded as zeroes because past research indicated that both pre and postparental couples engage in the same kinds of household tasks and experience similar levels of satisfaction.

Economic power was examined with: Measures of income, hours worked per week, and occupational status. Two questions on yearly income were utilized: 1) That of the household and, 2) what "you alone earn". In each case, one of seven options could be circled. For household income, the range was: Under $12,000; $12-19,999; $20-29,999; $30-49,999; $50-74,999; $75-99,999; and $100,00 and over. For personal income, the range was: Under $6,000; $6-14,999; $15-29,999; $30-44,999; $45-59,999; $60-74,999; and $75,000 and over. The hours worked per week were taken directly from the questionnaire while occupational status was determined by classifying the occupational titles according to the occupational group codes (that combine scores for women and men) designed by Nam-Powers (Miller, 1991).

Age and sex were recorded directly from the listing of household members' current age and sex at the beginning of the questionnaire.

Results

Overall, 83% of the women stated that they most often performed the traditional female tasks while 81% of the men indicated that their partners did most of the household tasks. Women did the majority of housework regardless of their age. Such results are consistent with overall trends in the literature.

To address the first research question, a test of why those who engaged in housecleaning did so was run. A chi-square goodness of fit test of housecleaning by sex (in which most of the women explained why they cleaned house while most of the men explained why their partners cleaned house) indicated that no significant differences existed in their rationales. For

both sexes, the rationales were similarly distributed among the gendered, practical, preferential and other categories. (See Table 1). An additional chi-square test of reasons for housecleaning, limited to women who most often engaged in housecleaning or men whose partners most often did so, also indicated that the rationales did not differ significantly.

Insert Table 1 about here

The second question explored whether the reasons for conflict showed any relationship to the reasons for engaging in housecleaning. The relationship was tested with a chi-square analysis of kinds of conflict (none, practical, equity, and a combination) by the aforementioned reasons for cleaning the house. No significant differences were noted. Respondents with no conflicts through equity conflicts were as likely to cite gender roles as to cite practical reasons for their housecleaning. Overall, 60% of the sample reported some kind of conflict over household labor.

The third question examined to what degree conflicts over the household division of labor could be predicted by: satisfaction, age of youngest child, own age, and specific economic factors (i.e., own earnings, household income, hours worked per week, and one's job status). Given the conceptual links among conflict, age, and family stage and their possible differentiation from economic factors, two separate regression models were tested. The first model explored whether the dependent variable of conflict could be predicted by: satisfaction with the household division of labor, the respondent's age, and the age of the youngest child. (See the top half of Table 2). The second multiple regression model examined the predictors of: job status, hours worked per week, own income, and household income in relation

to conflicts over the household division of labor. (See the bottom half of Table 2).

Insert Table 2 about here

The results of Model 1 indicated that satisfaction was the best predictor of conflict while age was less potent but also significant. The significant effects of satisfaction and age on conflicts indicates that higher level conflicts are influenced by the dissatisfaction of younger women and men. Age of the youngest child (the measure of family stage) did not make a significant contribution to the explanation of conflicts at the .05 level. The R-square was able to account for 29% of the variance.

The economic factors of household income and one's own income were the only significant predictors among the economic factors tested in Model 2. That is, those in higher income households were significantly more likely to report higher level conflicts. However, it was also the case that those who earned lower level personal incomes (women earned an average of $11,000 while men earned an average of $32,000) also accounted for conflicts. Job status and the number of hours worked per week did not explain conflicts over the household division of labor. Overall, the economic model in Model 2 appeared to be less powerful than Model 1, since it accounted for only 11% of the variance.

To test whether the significant economic variables would continue to function as predictors when combined with Model 1, a final multiple regression model was tested with conflict as a dependent variable and satisfaction, age, household income and own earnings as independent variables (See Table 3). The analysis indicated that all but one's own earnings

continued to function as significant predictors of conflict (own earnings did exhibit a strong trend, however). Overall, 31% of the variance was explained by the model. In sum, this analysis reveals that the dissatisfaction (over the household division of labor) of younger people with higher incomes than average predicts higher level conflicts.

Insert Table 3 about here

In order to examine specific relationships more carefully, additional tests between conflict and satisfaction, conflict and age, and an examination of household income was undertaken. A chi-square analysis of satisfaction by reasons for conflict indicated that nearly all of those who were dissatisfied (88%) were inclined to cite equity (an unfair share or feeling burdened) or a combination of equity and practical conflicts. Sixty-five percent of those reporting satisfaction claimed that they had either no conflicts or practical conflicts (no time, tasks remain undone). The differences were significant.

The chi-square test of age (when collapsed into the categories of young adult, midlife, and old age) by conflicts indicated significant differences by life stage. That is, only 15% of young adults reported no conflicts whereas 55% reported equity or a mix of equity and practical conflicts. On the other hand, 75% of those over the age of 65 cited no conflicts while the remaining 25% cited equity or a mix (See Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

The third multiple regression model tested above indicated that those reporting higher level conflicts were also inclined to be in households that earned more money. The mean and mode for household income were between $30,000-49,999 per year (a modest amount). Those reporting some type of equity conflict (whether alone or in combination with practical issues) were therefore likely to be in households with average to above-average earnings.

The fourth question explored the relationship between conflict and sex. This was tested in two ways. First the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient between the two was calculated to be .25 (a low-level and insignificant relationship). Sex was also entered into a fourth multiple regression model along with the three significant predictors of satisfaction, age and household income. The results indicated that sex was not a significant predictor of conflict. That is, the beta, t-ratio (.43) and probability level (.66) were far from the .05 level of significance. Further, more than half of both women and men reported some kind of conflict.

Discussion

The results of the present survey study should be considered suggestive of directions for future research on conflicts over the household division of labor since the caucasian, lower middle class sample may not be representative of the general population. However, the relationships between conflict and satisfaction as well as between conflict and age that were found in this study are consistent with the results of previous studies that have examined conflict. As such, the sample used in this study reflects broader trends that are valuable in understanding household conflicts.

As in previous studies of the household division of labor, the majority of women in this study engaged in traditional female household tasks while the vast majority of men did not. In this sense, these caucasian, lower-

middle class women and men continue to "do gender" by performing or avoiding tasks considered appropriate or inappropriate for their sex. However, the rationales offered for this gendered division of labor were not explicitly linked to gender roles. Thus, there appears to be a dissonance between attitudes and behaviors such that behaviors continue to be gendered but attitudes reflect ambivalence. Evidence for the ambivalence about gendered domestic labor was found in two domains: The rationale for why women engaged in housecleaning, and the relationships among conflict, dissatisfaction, household income, and age. Each will be discussed below.

The tests that assessed the reasons for women's housecleaning indicated that women and men did not identify gender reasons (either biological or sex role factors) any more often than practical reasons. In fact, more than half the respondents cited either preference or practical rationales. In essence, most of the sample does not explicitly link gendered activities to a female "nature" or to cultural norms for their sex as the West and Zimmerman concept of "doing gender" would suggest.

The relationship between conflicts over housework divisions and their predictors in Tables 2 and 3 is also indicative of the ambivalence about gendered housework. The regression analyses showed a relationship among higher level conflicts, dissatisfaction, income, and youth. It appears that younger women and men are less satisfied with the division of household labor because they feel it burdens the person engaging in it or it is unfairly shared. Such results challenge the notion that housework is a welcome opportunity to demonstrate gender -- at least among young adults. Perhaps household labor is viewed as a necessary evil by the youngest age cohort. In any case, they are not satisfied with current arrangements.

The explanation for these age cohort differences in conflict may be that young adults have greater expectations for equality in household tasks.

Such expectations could have been based on ideologies about shared work in the family that were common during their early developmental years. For instance, nearly 15 years ago (during the childhood and teenage years of our current young adults) social scientists such as Giele (1978) began noting the shifting cultural ideologies around gender roles in the family:

> On the one hand, there is wider recognition that work patterns of men and women are becoming more similar over the life span. On the other hand, there is increasing recognition that responsibilities for parenthood and household work fall unequally on the shoulders of men and women and there are frequent suggestions as to how the tasks might be more evenly divided. These two themes signal an emerging norm of sex equality to be achieved by flexible role allocation over the lifetime of the individual (pp. 193-4).

To support such shifts, Giele pointed to media stories about men taking care of children, doing needlework, or cooking. Pleck (1977) claimed that men with working wives were slowly increasing their amount of housework. And, Coverman and Sheley (1986) reported that from 1965 to 1975 women were significantly decreasing the time given to household labor.

The current study did not examine ideological differences between age groups, but a plausible explanation for the age cohort differences in conflict and dissatisfaction would be the following: The notions of equality emphasized during the young adults' early socialization experiences provided them with an ethical foundation for engaging in conflict when imbalances in household labor surfaced. Conflicts may result from the dissatisfaction that arises from the disparity between expectations of equality and the realities of gendered household tasks.

This thesis might also account for why the variable of family stage was not able to predict conflict. It may not be the amount of gendered work that is at issue for the young adults but the fact that certain tasks are gendered that they are reacting against. Thus, even childless couples who have a more even but still somewhat gendered division of labor will be as inclined to engage in conflicts over equity as those couples who have a more dichotomized division of labor during the childrearing years. Older age cohorts may have accepted their gender roles and are less likely to conflict or to be dissatisfied.

The issue to address is why the vast majority of women (including young adult women) continue to perform the traditional female household tasks. The young adult women (and to a lesser extent the young adult men) are in quite a dilemma. On one level, they are concerned with equality. On another level, they appear reluctant to abandon the "doing" of gendered tasks. Significantly, when the two issues (equity vs. gendered behavior) are confronted in everyday life, gendered behavior is given priority. We might question why the ethical issue is not more powerful than the gender issue.

Perhaps the answer lies in the moral domain. That is, young adult women (those still doing the gendered tasks) may have conflicted feelings about equity issues because they contrast with other aspects of their moral orientation. Gilligan's (1982) thesis on women's development of moral reasoning appears useful in explaining the data.

According to her schema, women move from a purely egocentric stage of morality (pursuing only what they want) to a level at which their self worth is based upon the ability to care for and protect others. The third and final level of moral reasoning entails the recognition that she has a responsibility to herself as well as others. Movement from one level of moral reasoning to the next involves two transitions.

In this study, many of the young adult women appear to be in transition from the second to the third level of moral thought. That is, the women are raising questions (as demonstrated by the equity conflicts over the household division of labor) about the importance of their own needs but are not able to put these notions into effect. Their homes may not be tranquil because of conflict and dissatisfaction but women may place certain parameters on the limits to which conflict will be escalated. The limits to which conflict is permitted may be contingent upon the moral disposition to put others' needs ahead of their own needs.

That is, any individual move towards equality in the household risks hurting both the self and others. The move toward full equality increases conflict in the domestic domain. Such conflict contrasts with women's notions of nonviolence and protection (Gilligan's third level). On the other hand, full sharing of household tasks (as they are currently structured) also interferes with the spouse's capacity to be "successful" in the realm of paid labor and may hurt another. The performance of household labor takes time and attention away from paid work. Thus the dilemma. Finally, the contemporary structure of work and home life does not enable young adult women to transcend the conflict between selfishness and responsibility.

Women's moral orientation (which for most women would override the orientation toward equity) encourages a resolution of the dilemma such that the dichotomies of paid and unpaid labor are upheld. What needs to happen, then, to assist families in the resolution of this dilemma? A structural rather than an individual solution appears necessary. At the present time, paid labor and/or public policies do not accommodate the domestic elements of worker's lives because most employers or government agencies do not

provide meals, childcare, flexible scheduling and do not modify their expectations for performance in the paid labor force. Berk (1985) states:

> It is hardly a question simply of who has more time, or whose time is worth more, who has more skill or more power, it is clear that a complicated relationship between the structure of work imperatives and the structure of normative expectations attached to work as gendered determines the ultimate allocation of members' time to work and home (pp. 195-196).

Perhaps as both Berk and Hochschild suggest, change is now contingent upon structural and institutional programs that relieve individual women of the "second shift" (e.g., communal kitchens, workplace daycare, parental leave). Unless certain structural changes occur in the family and paid work domains, the household division of labor will, of necessity, rely on norms for gendered identities (for older age cohorts) and female moral orientations (for young women) to ensure that basic domestic tasks are performed.

Table 1

Reasons for Engaging in Housecleaning by Sex

	Women	Men
More Time or Less Demanding Job	26	25
Any Mention of Sex Role or Male/Female Nature	19	10
Preference	6	11
Combination or Other	9	11
TOTAL N	60	57

Chi-Square = 4.41, (3), N.S.

Table 2

Conflicts over the Household Division of Labor

Predictors	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient	t-ratio	Sig. t
Model 1			
Satisfaction - DOL	.78	5.96	.0001
Respondent's Age	-.03	-2.90	.004
Family Stage	.01	0.46	.643
(Constant)	1.69		
	R-square = .29		
	Equation F = 16.66		
	Sig. F = .0001		
Model 2			
Job Status	.01	.96	.338
Hours Worked	.02	.93	.354
Household Income	.48	2.44	.016
Own Income	-.65	-3.38	.001
(Constant)	1.15		
	R-square = .11		
	Equation F = 4.43		
	Sig. F = .002		

Table 3

Conflicts over the Household Division of Labor

Predictors	Unstandardized Beta Coefficient	t-ratio	Sig. t
Model 3			
Satisfaction - DOL	.74	5.68	.0001
Respondent's Age	-.03	-2.42	.017
Household Income	.38	2.30	.023
Own Income	-.27	-1.71	.089
(Constant)			

R-square = .31

Equation F = 14.26

Sig. F = .0001

Table 4

Kinds of Conflicts Reported by those at Various Life Stages

	Young Adult	Midlife	Old Age
Conflicts			
None	6	19	15
Pratical	12	11	0
Equity	11	15	3
Mix E & P	11	12	2
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Total	40	57	20

Chi-square = 23.0 (6), p = .001

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